

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

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AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1350

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY

SUBJECT: WALDHEIM/WECKMANN EFFORTS ON RESUMED NEGOTIATION IN
VIENNA

SUMMARY. WECKMANN IS PUSHING A SCENARIO IN WHICH KARAMANLIS, MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES WOULD MEET IN ATHENS APRIL 21 OR 22. PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THIS WOULD BE TO GET MAKARIOS TO CEASE BEING NEGATIVE ABOUT RESUMED NEGOTIATION AND GIVE CLERIDES A RENEWED STRONGER NEGOTIATING MANDATE FOR VIENNA. IN ANTICIPATION OF VIENNA, WECKMANN HOPES US WILL GIVE APPROPRIATE SUPPORT TO THIS WITH KARAMANLIS AND WILL ENCOURAGE SOME TURKISH FLEXIBILITY. HE DOES NOT EXPECT VIENNA TO PRODUCE CONCLUSIONS BUT HOPEFULLY DEFINITION OF POSITIONS AS A BASIS FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATION. GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS, FOLLOWING BITSIOS' POSITION, NEITHER EXPECTS NOR WANTS A MEETING IN ATHENS BEFORE VIENNA. SAYS GREEK POSITION NEEDS NO FURTHER DEFINITION; IN VIENNA GREEKS WILL LISTEN TO WHAT TURKEY HAS TO SAY BUT ARE NOT SANGUINE. END SUMMARY.

1. UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WECKMANN BRIEFED ME APRIL 14 ON INTENSE EFFORTS WALDHEIM AND HE HAVE BEEN MAKING TO GET ALL PARTIES' AGREEMENT TO RESUMED CYPRUS NEGOTIATION IN VIENNA

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ON APRIL 28 WITH AT LEAST INITIAL PARTICIPATION OF BOTH

CLERIDES AND DENKTASH.

2. NOW THAT DISAGREEMENT OVER WALDHEIM'S ROLE AT VIENNA HAS AT LEAST BEEN FINESSED (BOTH SIDES AGREE TO HIS UNDEFINED PRESENCE FOR FIVE DAYS), WECKMANN CONSIDERS CLERIDES' THREAT TO RESIGN, AND THE UNDERLYING CONFLICT WITH MAKARIOS WHICH THAT THREAT SYMBOLIZES, THE MAJOR REMAINING OBSTACLE TO GETTING TALKS RESTARTED. ACCORDING TO WECKMANN, THIS THREAT ON CLERIDES' PART AROSE FROM UNPUBLISHED DECISION OF CYPRUS HOLY SYNOD EXPRESSING VIEW THAT (A) MAKARIOS, AS ETHNARCH, SHOULD REFUSE TO SIGN A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND (B) MAKARIOS SHOULD REMAIN AS PRESIDENT. CLERIDES, WECKMANN SAYS, CLAIMED PROOF THAT SYNOD DECISION HAD BEEN STIMULATED BY MAKARIOS.

3. UPON CONFIRMING WITH CLERIDES ON APRIL 8 THAT HE INDEED INTENDED TO RESIGN, WECKMANN PRIVATELY AND STRONGLY COUNSELED CLERIDES NOT RPT NOT TO RECONSIDER HIS RESIGNATION UNTIL, WITH KARAMANLIS' HELP, BASIC DISPUTE BETWEEN MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES HAD BEEN RESOLVED AND LATTER HAD BEEN GIVEN A REAFFIRMED, CLEAR MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN VIENNA. TO BUTTRESS THIS, WECKMANN OBTAINED FROM DENKTASH A FLAT STATEMENT THAT HE WOULD NOT GO TO VIENNA UNLESS CLERIDES WERE PRESENT. WECKMANN REPORTED FOREGOING IN FULL TO WALKHEIM, POINTING OUT THAT BASIC PROBLEM LAY IN MAKARIOS' DISINTEREST IN NEGOTIATION, AND RECOMMENDING SYG TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION WITH KARAMANLIS AND MAKARIOS.

4. WITH THESE ELEMENTS IN HAND, WALDHEIM TELEPHONED KARAMANLIS EVENING APRIL 8 ASKING THAT HE USE GREECE'S FULL INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE CLERIDES TO STAY ON AND BRING MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES INTO A COMMON LINE THAT WOULD GIVE CLERIDES A FLEXIBLE HAND IN VIENNA. WALDHEIM DIRECTED WECKMANN TO APPROACH MAKARIOS, WHICH HE DID ON APRIL 9, TO SAY THAT SYG DOUBTED THERE WOULD BE VIENNA RESUMPTION UNLESS CLERIDES WERE REPRESENTING GREEK CYPRIOTS.

5. WECKMANN TOLD ME THAT HE HAD ALSO BEEN PUSHING HARD TO HAVE A KARAMANLIS-MAKARIOS-CLERIDES MEETING IN ATHENS BEFORE VIENNA, I. E. BEFORE NOT AFTER ARCHBISHOP'S RETURN FROM COMMONWEALTH MEETING IN JAMAICA. ON APRIL 13, CLERIDES HAD
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TOLD HIM IT VIRTUALLY SETTLED THAT SUCH MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE IN ATHENS APRIL 21 OR 22. (WE KNOW THAT THIS IS AT VARIANCE WITH BITSIOS' COMMENT TO AMBASSADOR KUBISCH REPORTED ATHENS 2840 AS CONFIRMED BY GREEK AMBASSADOR HERE IN REMARKS REPORTED BELOW).

6. WECKMANN REFERRED TO A FURTHER COMPLICATION FOR EFFECTIVE CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATION IN VIENNA. THIS WAS DENKTASH'S INSISTENCE THAT AT SOME POINT HE STEP ASIDE

TO LET CHELIK DEAL WITH CLERIDES TO SUPPORT DENKTASH'S ASSERTION THAT HE, AS PRESIDENT OF FTSC, SHOULD NOT REALLY BE DEALING WITH SOMEONE OF LESSER RANK AS LONG AS MAKARIOS WILL NOT ACCEPT THE EQUALITY OF TURKISH COMMUNITY AND ITS ADMINISTRATION. WECKMANN THOUGHT A MODEST GESTURE TO TURKISH POSITION COULD BE MADE ONCE PEOTIES WERE GATHERED IN VIENNA BY HAVING DENKTASH DEVELOP A ONE-DAY DIPLOMATIC ILLNESS DURING WHICH HE WOULD BE REPRESENTED BY CHELIK BEFORE RESUMING HIS OWN PARTICIPATION.

7. WECKMANN ADVISED ME THAT IN HIS OPINION THERE NOW REMAIN TWO PREREQUISITES TO HAVING VIENNA BECOME THE STARTING POINT FOR EFFECTIVE DISCUSSION OF A RAPID CYPRUS SOLUTION: (A) FLEXIBILITY FROM TURKEY AND (B) KARAMANLIS FIRMNESS WITH MAKARIOS BEING EXPECTED APRIL 21-22 ATHENS "SUMMIT". WECKMANN URGED THAT US DO WHATEVER IT COULD TO HELP ON BOTH COUNTS. HE ALSO SAID HE WISHED THERE WERE SOME DIRECT CHANNEL BETWEEN KARAMANLIS AND CLERIDES, BYPASSING BITSIOS AND ESPECIALLY GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUHLAS WHO, WECKMANN NOTED, REPORTS THROUGH FILTER OF HIS OWN EMOTIONALISM AND PERSONAL LOYALTY TO MAKARIOS.

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ACTION SS-25

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USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1350

EXDIS

8. CONCLUDING, WECKMANN SAID THE IMPORTANT THING TO GET BEFORE WALDHEIM LEAVES VIENNA IS NOT SO MUCH AGREEMENT AS A CLEAR PICTURE AS TO WHERE PARTIES STAND ON SUCH KEY ISSUES

AS GEOGRAPHIC PERCENTAGE. ON LATTER FOR EXAMPLE, IF GREEK SIDE CAN BE BROUGHT SECRETLY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT IT WOULD ACCEPT 24 PERCENT AND TURKS SAY 30-32 PERCENT, A BASIS WILL HAVE BEEN LAID FOR A LATER NEGOTIATION (UNDER WECKMANN) TO BRIDGE THE GAPS.

9. GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS, WHO VISITED ME APRIL 15 FOLLOWING RETURN FROM CONSULTATION IN ATHENS, HAS A RATHER DIFFERENT OPTIC ON WHAT IS GOING ON. WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO JUDGE EXTENT TO WHICH HE IS REFLECTING THINKING OF KARAMANLIS AND BITSION OR ADDING DIMENSIONS OF HIS OWN. ACCORDING TO DOUNTAS, THE REAL REASON FOR CLERIDES' THREAT TO RESIGN WAS NOT DECISION OF HOLY SYNOD, WHICH WAS NOT INSTIGATED BY MAKARIOS AND BY WHICH HE IS NOT BOUND. CAUSAL FACTOR WAS CLERIDES' OWN "IMMATURE AND PREMATURE" SPEECH APRIL 1 ACCPETING BIZONALITY. THIS HAD UNDERSTANDABLY PROVOKED HARSH CRITICISM AND LED CLERIDES, DEEPLY DISHEARTENED, TO DISPAIR REGARDING HIS CONTINUING ROLE. CONFRONTED BY THIS UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENT, GREECE HAD MOVED IN TO PUT THE PIECES BACK TOGETHER, WITH KARAMANLIS MESSAGES TO MAKARIOS REQUESTING THAT HE RETAIN SECRET

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CLERIDES AND PUBLICLY EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR HIM, AND TO CLERIDES URGING HIM TO STAY ON. GOG HAD ALSO SOUGHT TO CALM GREEK CYPRIOT PRESS CRITICISM OF CLERIDES. WHILE OUTCOME NOT YET ASSURED, ALL INDICATIONS WERE THAT CLERIDES WOULD IN THE END LET HIMSELF BE PERSUADED TO STAY ON.

10. DOUNTAS TOLD ME GOG NOT INTERESTED IN A "SUMMIT" BEFORE VIENNA. THERE NO NEED FOR NEW THINKING ON GOG POSITION AT THIS TIME. THERE WAS A COMMON LINE WITH MAKARIOS DATING BACK TO LAST DECEMBER AND GOG HAD RPRIVATELY COMMUNICATED TO USG IN BRUSSELS WHAT FURTHER MOVEMENT IT COULD ACCEPT IF THERE WERE TURKISH FLEXIBILITY. IN VIENNA, GOG/GOC ATTITUDE WOULD BE TO LISTEN TO WHAT TURKEY HAD TO SAY. GOG DID NOT THINK THIS WOULD BE MUCH. HOWEVER, IF SOMETHING NEW DID DEVELOP, CLERIDES WOULD HAVE INSTANT COMMUNICATIONS WITH KARAMANLIS AND MAKARIOS THROUGH GREEK DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS AND, IF NECESSARY, CLERIDES COULD ALWAYS GET BACK TO ATHENS FOR CONSULTATION IN A MATTER OF HOURS. MOST THAT KARAMANLIS HOPING FOR OUT OF VIENNA WAS A BASIS FOR CONTINUING DISCUSSING LATER.

11. COMMENT: WALDHEIM/WECKMANN THINKING FOR THE KEAD-UP TO VIENNA AND TALKS THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE COMPATIBLE WITH US CONCEPTIONS. AS REGARDS WECKMANN'S TWO REQUESTS FOR US INVOLVEMENT, SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL FOR HARTMAN'S VISIT TO ANKARA FITS WITH WECKMANN'S POINT OF TURKISH FLEXIBILITY. AS REGARDS THE NEED FOR MARAMANLIS TO CURB MAKARIOS'

DESTRUCTIVENESS AND ENSURE A CLEAR GRANT OF AUTHORITY TO
CLERIDES, A MESSAGE TO KARAMANLIS PRIOR TO APRIL 21, IF
ATHENS "SUMMIT" IS TO TAKE PLACE THEN, MIGHT BE CONSIDERED.
ALTERNATIVELY, IF "SUMMIT" IS TO BE DELAYED, SAME POINT COULD
BE CONVEYED THROUGH HARTMAN WHEN HE VISITS ATHENS AFTER
ANKARA.
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